PUBLIC LEGER.

"FRIENDLY TO THE BEST PURSUITS OF MAN,
FRIENDLY TO THOUGHT, TO FREEDOM, AND TO PEACE."—*Cowper.*

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TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Pennsylvania society for the promotion of manufactures and the mechanic arts beg leave respectfully to offer for the candid reflection of their fellow citizens, some views of national policy on which there appear, at present to exist differences of opinion. Yet it is believed these views will be found reconcileable with the interests of every section of the union, and eminently calculated to encourage national industry and promote national prosperity.

The objects of this society, it is true, are more immediately connected with the interests of our manufactures and artists—but the mutual dependence, however of the various [illegible] of natural history upon each other, and the tendency which an increase of the prosperity of one branch naturally has to promote the welfare of all, is too evident to be denied.

The great extent of our territory, and the general fertility of the soil, have attracted the industry of by far the larger portion of the nation, above 80 per cent. of the whole, to the pursuits of agriculture; and it has not been until within these few years that attention has been in any considerable degree directed to manufactures. In every well regulated community, the cultivation of the soil in the best manner must always be a subject of the highest consideration: and, while the attention of [illegible] has been called to a view of the [illegible] state of the agriculture of the country, it has been led to a belief, that the depression of that important interest which has arisen from the want of due proportion between the consumers and producers, might have been prevented, by [illegible] and protecting those branches of manufactures, which make a "*domestic market the best of all markets, for the rude produce of the soil.*"

While the necessities of Europe obliged her to receive the grain and flour of the middle and western states, the farming interest of those states was highly prosperous; but those necessities having long ceased to exist, the ports of that quarter of the globe, for the last nine years, with the exception of about three months, have been closed against those important productions; so that while those states consume from 10 to 12,000,000 dollars of the manufactures, of Europe, annually, they [illegible] scarcely any important article [illegible] will be received in return; distressing a more ruinous want of reciprocal [illegible] intercourse between those portions of the United States and Europe, [illegible] perhaps has ever occurred in the history of commerce.

The whole export of flour from the U. States in 1825, to Great Britain and Ireland, was 27,272 barrels and to France [illegible]

Of the injury resulting to the nation from the closing of the European ports against bread stuffs, some idea may be formed from the following facts. In the year 1817, the export of flour from the United States was 1,479,198 barrels, valued, according to the treasury returns, at $17,[illegible]. At the close of the year, the ports of Great Britain were shut against bread stuffs, and have so remained ever since, except for three months in [illegible]. The export of the latter year was [illegible] 320,000 barrels; and amounted [illegible] to 1,157,698 barrels, value $11,575,[illegible]. The export of 1819 was reduced to [illegible] barrels, value $6,0055,290. In the year 1825, it was 813,906 barrels, valued $[illegible],212,127. Although in that year we exported 252,726 barrels to S. America, from which in the year 1817, we were excluded. The population of the United States, which in 1792, was about 4,200,000, is now about 12,500,000. Yet the export of flour in 1792, was 824,469 barrels, 10,000 barrels more than in 1825!

The diminution of the export of wheat and Indian corn has also been great. The export of these articles in 1790, and 1825, was as follows:

	1790	1825	diminution.
Wheat, bush.	1,124,456	17,990	1,106,466
Indian corn do	2,102,137	869,644	1,232,493

Our population in 1790, was 2,929,326, and has more than trebled—yet not merely the value, but the quantity, of our exports of most of those articles on which the grain-growing states mainly depend, has since been greatly reduced.

The domestic exports of the United States in 1790, (the first year when a descrimination was made by the treasury department between foreign and domestic), were about $33,000,000, exclusive of cotton and tobacco. In 1825, excluding these articles, they were only $23,982,173. Our population in 1790 was about 4,750,000. It is now about 12,500,000. Thus while it has nearly trebled, the exports of all the articles produced by about 10,000,000 of our population have diminished one third; although the export of manufactures has increased above four fold.

It is painful to take a retrospect of the distress which the exclusion of our grand staple produced in the state of Pennsylvania in 1819 and 1820, and from which it has not yet recovered. A committee of both houses of the legislature of the state, appointed to ascertain the extent of the evil, drew the following outline—

"Ruinous sacrifices of landed property at sheriff's sales, whereby in many cases, lands and houses have been sold at less than a half a third or a fourth of their former value, thereby depriving of their homes and the fruits of laborious years, a vast number of our industrious farmers, some of whom have been driven to seek in the uncultivated forests of the west, that shelter of which they have been deprived in their native state."

When the diminution of the quantity and value of the exports of the productions of the grain growing states is considered it may be a matter of surprise to many, unacquainted with the subject, how our immense importations have been paid for. To this we answer, that a very large amount of our public and private securities has been remitted abroad for that purpose and thus the country has been mortgaged for their payment. It must therefore be obvious, that the interest of these securities, produced by the laboring class of our country, amounting probably to above $2,000,000 annually, is appropriated to pay for the foreign labor, while our own farmers and workmen want profitable employment. When the tariff of 1824 was enacted after solemn debate, it was hoped that its provisions would afford protection to every branch of national industry.

The thirty per cent. duty laid upon foreign wool, it was contemplated, would have given sufficient protection to the wool growers, and, that the duties and restrictions on the importation of foreign woolens would sufficiently protect the American fabric. But the former will be of no avail, if the domestic market for the article be destroyed, the result of the prostration of the woollen manufacture which will certainly take place without an immediate and radical change in our policy.

The repeal by Great Britain in 1826, of nearly all the duty upon foreign wool imported into that country, has had the effect to destroy the salutary operation of the law of 1824, so far as it relates to the woolen manufacture, whereby the intended protection is frustrated. The duty in Great Britain is only one penny per lb. on wool at or above one shilling sterling, and one half penny on wool below that price, while ours is nearly one third of the value, amounting on the finer qualities, to from 30 to 50 cents per lb.

By this state of things, the farmer is wholly deprived of the advantages intended to be given him by the increased duty on foreign wool, and the American manufactures of that article is so far depressed by the great quantity of English woolens brought into the country, that he cannot continue the business, unless the original intention of the tariff be carried into effect by the enactment of an additional duty to countervail the advantage given to the English manufacturer by the reduction of the duty on the importation of foreign wool.

It has been estimated that in our woolen manufactures there is a capital invested of $50,000,000. In consequence of the stagnation that has taken place, some of those engaged in it have been ruined—others have discharged many of their work men—and those who continue the business, do not derive from it a maintenance.

It is obvious that the prostration of a branch of industry, which puts into circulation such large sums as are necessary to employ the above capital must produce very injurious results to the nation at large. Should no salutary alteration take place, a considerable portion of this capital will be lost, by the great depreciation of that part which is invested in buildings and machinery. Thousands of persons will be deprived of employment, not merely those immediately engaged in the branch in question, but in the variety of branches wholly and collaterally dependent on it.

No small portion of the capital will be transferred to the cotton manufacture, which will be thereby crowded and greatly injured. Some portion will be transferred to other branches of manufactures, and produce on them the same pernicious effect.

On the farming interest, already greatly depressed, it will operate very severely. It will diminish the market for wool, and lower the price, so as to destroy in a great measure the inducement to raise sheep, and render of little value those now in the hands of the farmer. This serious injury to farming the occupation of at least 7,000,000 of our citizens, is enough, alone to call for the interposition of government—but this is by no means the whole of the evil to that important interest. In addition, numbers of persons engaged in the woollen branch will divert their industry to agriculture—and thus not merely diminish the market for the necessaries of life, and other products of the soil—but injuriously increase the number of cultivators.

The great importance to the farmers, of securing a steady market for wool, is vastly increased by the depressed state of the market for bread stuffs, forming as they do, the grand staple of all the middle states which contain at present at least four million inhabitants.

When the existing state of things is taken into view, we consider the rapid advances that have been made within a few years, by the introduction of steam navigation, canals, and rail roads, and the happy destinies to which the country must arrive, should every breach of industry be duly protected by wise regulations, this society feel themselves imperiously called upon to make a solemn appeal to the middle, and western and eastern states.

We do not consider this question as exclusively sectional, although such a character has been frequently attached to it, both in and out of our national councils, but naturally address ourselves to the states most directly interested in the adoption of the policy which we advocate.

The society has beheld with great regret, that the doctrine of the unconstitutionality of congress affording protection to manufactures, by duties on imports, has been openly promulgated in and out of congress. It might have been expected, that the uniform exercise of this power, in favor of agriculture and commerce as well as manufactures, from the very commencement of the government, would have laid the question at rest.

For the protection of commerce, the first congress in 1789 imposed a tonage duty on foreign vessels engaged in the foreign trade, or 50 cents per ton for every entry, while American vessels paid but six cents—on the former, engaged in the coasting trade, the duty was fifty cents per ton for every entry, while the latter paid but six cents per annum. Thus a foreign vessel of 400 tons engaged in the foreign trade, and making four entries in a year, paid 800 dollars tonage duty—while an American vessel paid but 96. A foreign vessel of 150 tons in the coasting trade and making ten entries in a year, paid 750 dollars—whereas an American vessel of the same size, and making the same number of entries, paid but 9 dollars. The duties imposed at that period on teas imported in foreign vessels, average twenty seven cents per pound, while those on teas imported in American vessels averaged only twelve—being a protecting duty to the American ship owner of one hundred and twenty five per cent.

The duty on cotton, for the purpose of encouraging the culture of the south, was three cents per pound, which is now from forty to fifty per cent. on the actual prices for which the article sells in Alabama. The duty imposed in 1789, on manufactured tobacco and on snuff, was six cents per lb. on the former and eight cents on the latter, expressly intended to secure the consumption of the country to our tobacco planters. This end it has fully accomplished; as the importation of foreign snuff and tobacco has been insignificant. On brown sugar, a necessary of life, and subject to a heavy freight of about 15 per cent. the duty is three cents per pound, varying according to the prices in the West Indies, from 50 to 85 per cent. for the protection of the sugar planter. The constitutionality of the protection thus afforded to the commercial and planting interests has never been questioned.

So far as regards manufactures, the right of congress to protect them in that mode, was not only admitted in the first congress, but strenuously advocated by the most distinguished members of that body—Madison, Ames, Fitzsimons, Carroll, of Carrolton, Lawrence, Clymer, Wadsworth, Boudinot, &c. &c. many of whom were members of the convention that framed the constitution. The right, let it be most distinctly observed, was never once called in question in that congress.

The first act for raising a revenue by impost passed July 4, 1789, was headed—

"Whereas it is necessary for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and THE ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROTECTION OF MANUFACTURES, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandize imported."

In addition to these strong facts, general Washington, who had been president of the convention, in his message of 1796, particularly recommended to congress the encouragement of manufactures:—

"Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the ENCOURAGEMENT OF MANUFACTURES. This object is of too much consequence not to ensure a continuance of their efforts in every way that shall apppear elligible. Ought our country to remain dependent on foreign supply, precarious because liable to be interrupted? If the necessary article should in this mode cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising, form an ample compensation?"

Mr. Jefferson's message of December, 1802, is to the same effect:—

"To cultivate peace, and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries, as nurseries of navigation, and for the nurture of man; and to PROTECT THE MANUFACTURES adapted to our circumstances, * * * are the landmarks by which to guide ourselves in all our proceedings."

Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe in their messages uniformly held the same doctrine.

And can it be for a moment admitted, that the venerable Washington, his three successors, and those members of the 1st congress, above named, who had but recently been called upon to give their luminous minds and great talents to the formation of the constitution, would so soon after its adoption, have mistaken the meaning? for they surely could not have lent their aid to its violation. Yet such is the true state of the case, if the doctrines now contended for by the legislature of Virginia in the following resolution be correct:

"*Resolved*, That this general assembly does most solemnly protest against the claim or exercise of any power whatever, on the part of the general government to protect domestic manufactures; the protection of manufactures not being amongst the grants of power to that government, specified in the constitution of the United States—and also against the operations of the act of congress, passed May 22d, 1824, entitled "an act to amend the several acts imposing duties on imports," generally called the tariff law, which vary the distribution of the proceeds of the labour of the community, in such a manner, as to transfer property from one portion of the United States to another, and to take private property